1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

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461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

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a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law. While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zĭp; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents. In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's surname, although some informants claim that it is possible for one child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

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Aside from her responsibility to her husband's family, a woman has more personal reasons for wanting to bear children. For one thing, barrenness is the most indelible of all stigmas. Old women who are quarreling will often accuse one another of being barren. It implies not only an abnormal physical state, but also something of a failure of character. To bear children is so important that those who *562 fail to do so must lack some essential moral quality. For another, it *593 is only through her children that a woman can realize her position as 842 a wife. The only common ground between a husband and wife in the 861 early years of their marriage is their children. Often they marry as almost total strangers, and etiquette demands that they remain distant to one another. As the village women express it, the children "give you something to talk to each other about." Finally, a woman's having any sense of security in her husband's home depends on her having children. Although the average village woman realizes that her husband's parents cannot afford to repudiate her, she also knows that they will never accept her until she provides them with grandchildren. It is by virtue of her children that a woman secures her status as a member of her husband's family. She herself may never become a full fledged member of the family until she dies, but as the mother of the family's male descendants she secures a position of respect. It is nothing to be a wife or a daughter-in-law, but it is a matter of pride to be a mother.

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Beyond those reasons we have already discussed, there are more general, less easily exemplified reasons for having children. One has

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to families which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an impoverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

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In the other case the husband was a younger man who was variously employed as a coal miner and coolie. Unfortunately, his work was sporadic, and he was also an addicted gambler. According to his wife's parents, "He spent all his money gambling and buying presents for his girlfriends." This was certainly not literally true, nor is it unusual for village men to spend a great deal of money gambling, but the wife's parents thought it sufficient excuse to be rid of the [851] men. A few years after the woman's younger brother married, the family simply locked her husband out of the house, and with the support of their relatives resisted his efforts to recover even the one child who had taken his surname. He offered the family NT$3000 to let him take his wife and children with him, but the family refused to even consider [463] the offer. Although we are not at all certain of this, it was rumored in the village that the wife was living with another man for whom she was ostensibly working as a cook. The interpretation of several of the family's neighbors was that they wanted to get rid of the husband in order to arrange a marriage with their daughter's "friend". As one of the more sarcastic neighbors put it, "If she is working as a cook, she must be working all night. She's pregnant." Something of the family's attitude towards the situation is apparent in the following conversation between the wife's mother and several of her neighbors.

[851] Mother: "Yesterday that man came again and said they were his children and carried his name, and so he wanted to take them home to live with him. I told him that if he wanted to take the children he had better go to the law courts. I said, 'I won't let you take them away that easily.' He doesn't really want the children. He just wants to take my daughter away. How could she be so good as to go with someone she doesn't even like?"

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

584 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtain-
654 ing marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to
183 disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly
123 rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged
• 851 member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

583 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on
584 the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ancestor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.
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583 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his
769 own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The
583 groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his
551 wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 The most variance in marriage contract terms is
584 with reference to the surnames of the children. The range
551 is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two
861 cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

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surname is the best means for guaranteeing continuity of worship.

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851 The process, or combination of processes described above, may be quite extensive, i.e., they may be repeated in successive generations if no male is produced. One extreme example is illustrated by the case of Liao Chi-cheng (Figure 7) who is now age 80 and the most educated man in his generation. Liao (1) had no children but adopted a daughter (2) and later adopted in a husband for

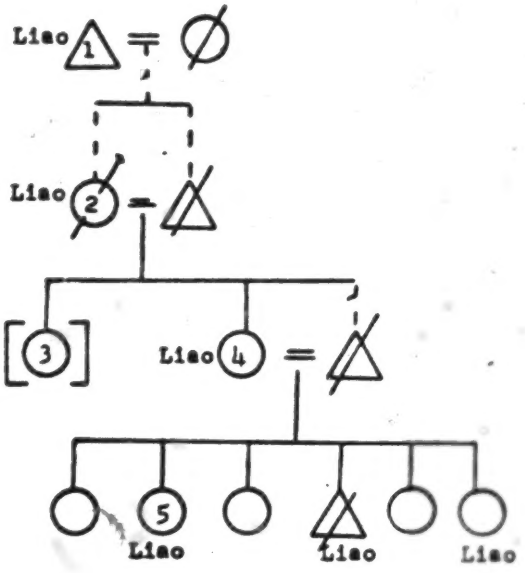

Figure 7. Kinship Diagram, Liao Chi-cheng Chia (All above individuals surnamed Liao are so noted.)

583 her. She (2) had two children: one (3) married out, but
• 851 an adopted-in husband was brought in for the other (4). The latter (4) had six children before her husband died and half were named Liao and half Wu in accordance with the initial arrangement that alternating children would be assigned each surname. At the time of the study, the family was searching for a man to be brought in as an adopted-in husband for Liao's 18 year old great-granddaughter (5). Liao (1) hoped to have him agree that all his children would have the surname Liao, but he was willing to reduce his conditions to a minimum of his choice of one of the first two only. Thus, Liao Chi-cheng (1) has been able to maintain his family name and ancestral line for three generations although there were no natural children in one generation, only girls in another, and the only male in the third died as a child.

583 Men who become adopted-in husbands usually possess
556 some social characteristic that makes them unlikely pros-
681 pects for a regular marriage. That is, they may be from a poor family, be an orphan, or be the last in a family with many sons. In each of these cases, it would be difficult for the man's family to afford the expenses necessary for a regular marriage. Sometimes the man has a physical defect such as a crippled leg which lowers his value as a groom. On the other hand, it is not unusual for a quite capable and ambitious young man with otherwise poor

844 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to
[111] the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for
846 good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days,
853 as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with rice porridge and green onions.

846 In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month
[262] for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work; the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

217 The authorities want the birth registered as soon as
• 851 possible but cultural values are in opposition since a baby is not quite human until 30 days have elapsed. Funerals, for example, are only conducted for those who live at least 30 days.

852 The end of 30 days is marked by a major ceremony,
851 man yueh (full month). The baby's head is annointed and shaved and then he is taken outside to show the neighbors. The family of the baby's mother provides a complete set of clothes which tend to decline in elaborateness in direct proportion to the number of grandchildren. In Sanlei, almost as a mirror image, the family of an adopted-in husband often provides the outfit and gifts if financially able. There will usually be a luncheon party to celebrate man yueh with food provided by all four grandparents.

553 At the ceremony, everyone will hear the child's name.
[852] The surname should be obvious but because of the number of adopted-in husbands, it is possible the child could receive either mother's or father's. Although agreements were originally considered clear, their interpretations are often a matter of dispute and some people also change their minds. There should be two more parts to the name but a very few children only receive one although the latter practice is disappearing. Every child under 12 in the village had two names in addition to his surname although several adults had but one. One name is uniquely a child's own. The middle